

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC
YALE LAW SCHOOL

TO: Senator Gary Winfield, Co-Chairman
Representative Larry Butler, Co-Chairman
Members of the Housing Committee

FROM: Elizabeth Chao, Community & Economic Development Clinic, Yale Law School

DATE: February 5, 2015

RE: Amending Sec. 8-30g Will Make Our Educational Achievement Gap Worse

RECOMMENDATION: Reject all proposed changes to sec. 8-30g

Reject bills No. 123; No. 171; No. 172; No. 403; No. 2138; No. 5055; No. 5056; No. 5057; No. 5254; No. 5306; 5576; No. 5577; No. 5578; No. 5579; No. 5580; No. 5581; No. 5582; No. 5802; No. 5803; No. 5804; No. 5805; No. 6126; No. 6127; No. 6128; No. 6129; No. 6130; No. 6131; No. 6135; and No. 6139.

Good evening. My name is Elizabeth Chao and I am a Yale law student in the Community and Economic Development Clinic. Connecticut has the worst achievement gap in the nation. I urge you to reject proposed amendments to 8-30g because they will make our already-bad achievement gap worse.

Connecticut's Achievement Gap: The Worst in the Country

Connecticut's educational achievement gap is worse than any other state in the country.¹ We have the worst achievement gap between high-income and low-income students, and the worst achievement gap between white students and black or Hispanic students. Low-income kids in Connecticut are, on average, three years behind non-low-income kids in math and reading.² Connecticut's black and Latino students are drastically behind white students: on the 4th grade math assessment, the average white student in Connecticut scores 34 points higher than the average black student and 29 points higher than the average Hispanic student.³ Connecticut has the worst achievement gap on 5 of the 12 indicators measured by the US Department of

¹ A Report from the Connecticut Commission on Educational Achievement 1.
http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/pressroom/ct_commission_on_ed_achievement_report.pdf.

² *Id.* at 7.

³ Alvin Chang, "The Achievement Gap Nationwide," NAEP data appearing in Jacqueline Rabe Thomas, "Nation's Report Card: CT continues to show largest achievement gap," Connecticut Mirror, 8 Nov. 2013.
<http://ctmirror.org/2013/11/08/nations-report-card-ct-continues-show-largest-achievement-gap/>. The black-white achievement gap on the 4th grade math assessment is 25.7 points nationwide, but 34 points in Connecticut. The Hispanic white achievement gap is 19.4 points nationwide, but 29 points in Connecticut.

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC YALE LAW SCHOOL

Education's National Assessment of Educational Progress, and it ranks close to the bottom in the rest.⁴

The achievement gap is not merely a result of Connecticut's income disparity. Our low-income students have lower test scores than low-income students in other states,⁵ and our black and Latino have lower test scores than black and Latino students in other states.⁶ For instance, on the fourth grade math assessment, the average white student in Connecticut scores 3 points higher than the nation's average white student, while the average black student in Connecticut scores 5 points lower than the nation's average black student.⁷ In other words, while Connecticut's white students do better than the rest of the country, Connecticut's black and Latino students do worse. Our achievement gap is shameful: too many of our students are not receiving the great education that we know our state can provide.

Inclusionary Housing Policies Cut the Achievement Gap

Creating affordable housing in high-performing school districts has been proven to close the achievement gap. Maryland's Montgomery County is composed of affluent suburbs with high-performing school districts, which is very similar to many parts of Connecticut. Montgomery County also has an inclusionary zoning policy that requires affordable housing to be built across the region. Applicants for those affordable housing units are selected randomly, allowing a rigorous examination of the effect on low-income children of living in a high-quality school district. In Montgomery County, low-income children in subsidized housing started out 17 percentage points below other children on standardized math tests. But when some of those students entered high-achieving schools, thanks to affordable housing opportunities in those districts, they quickly caught up to their classmates: the difference in their math test scores went from 17 to 8 points. Building affordable housing in high-performing school districts cut the achievement gap by more than half.⁸

Perhaps the most famous demonstration that affordable housing in high-performing suburban areas can improve educational outcomes comes from the Gautreaux case in Chicago. There, a quasi-experimental design—the gold standard of social science research—provided invaluable insights into the effect on low-income and minority families of moving to suburban areas with high-quality schools. The results are striking. Students who, thanks to housing policy, were able to attend high-quality integrated schools, were four times less likely to drop out of high school, six times more likely to attend a four-year college, and four times more likely to

⁴ Jacqueline Rabe Thomas. "Nation's Report Card: CT continues to show largest achievement gap." Connecticut Mirror. 8 Nov. 2013. <http://ctmirror.org/2013/11/08/nations-report-card-ct-continues-show-largest-achievement-gap/>.

⁵ National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Data Explorer. <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/>. See Table 1. Low-income is measured by eligibility for the National School Lunch Program.

⁶ National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Data Explorer. <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/>. See Table 2.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ Schwartz, Heather. Housing Policy Is School Policy: Economically Integrative Housing Promotes Academic Success in Montgomery County, Maryland. A Century Foundation Report 17-18.

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC YALE LAW SCHOOL

have a well-paying job.⁹ These are dramatic findings, which underscore the power of affordable housing policy to have a truly dramatic effect on Connecticut's achievement gap. The evidence is clear: 8-30g, by enabling low-income families to send their children to high-performing schools, can substantially close the achievement gap.

Neighborhood Effects: Where Kids Live Matters

Where kids live matters. Studies show that kids do better when they grow up in well-resourced, stable neighborhoods. Living in a high-income neighborhood rather than a low-income neighborhood has been found to increase a child's lifetime earnings by almost a million dollars.¹⁰ The high school dropout rate for black children who grow up in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods is five times greater than for black children who grow up in the most advantaged neighborhoods.¹¹ A study by economists David Card and Jesse Rothstein found that integrated neighborhoods could reduce the racial gap in SAT scores by at least one-quarter, even holding all other factors the same.¹² Notably, Card and Rothstein found that residential segregation was more harmful to students than school segregation,¹³ suggesting that programs that help build affordable housing in high-achieving communities may be even more effective than magnet schools and similar efforts. For Connecticut to close our achievement gap—as we all agree we must do—we need to provide affordable housing that allows families to send their children to the highest-performing schools. Expanding children's opportunity to live in good neighborhoods and go to the highest-performing schools—as 8-30g does—has dramatic, lifetime benefits.

Housing Costs Lead to Residential and Educational Segregation

The problem is that the neighborhoods with the highest-performing schools have the highest housing costs.¹⁴ In Connecticut, the cost of living near a good school is significantly higher than the cost of living near a bad school. Indeed, the problem here is worse than anywhere else in the country. In Bridgeport, the housing cost gap is 3.5: it is 3.5 times more expensive to live near a high-scoring school than a low-scoring school.¹⁵ That is the largest housing gap in the nation, meaning that housing costs pose a larger obstacle to educational success here than anywhere else in the country.

In part because of these housing cost gaps, Connecticut is the 12th most segregated state in the country for Hispanic students, and the 16th most segregated state in the country for African American students.¹⁶ Berkeley economist Rucker Johnson found that desegregating

⁹ James E. Rosenbaum, "Changing the geography of opportunity by expanding residential choice: Lessons from the Gautreaux program," *Housing Policy Debate* 6 (1995): 242.

¹⁰ Jonathan T. Rothwell, *Geographic Effects on Intergenerational Income Mobility*. *Economic Geography* 83 (2014).

¹¹ Wodtke, G. et al. (2011). *Neighborhood Effects in Temporal Perspective: The Impact of Long-Term Exposure to Concentrated Disadvantage on High School Graduation*. *American Sociological Review*, 76(5): 713-736

¹² David Card and Jesse Rothstein, "Racial Segregation and the Black-White Test Score Gap," *Journal of Public Economics*, 91 (11-12) (2007): 2158-2184.

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ Jonathan Rothwell, "Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools." *Brookings* (April 2012) 15.

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ 32% of Black students are in extremely segregated schools (those with a 90-100% minority student body), and 25.6% of Hispanic students are in extremely segregated schools (those with a 90-100% minority student body).

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC YALE LAW SCHOOL

schools leads to significantly better educational outcomes for children, which translated into lifelong benefits, including higher wages, lower incarceration rates, and better health through adulthood.¹⁷

Because our best schools are in neighborhoods with really high housing costs,¹⁸ many low-income kids and black and Latino kids cannot afford to attend them.¹⁹ 8-30g helps desegregate our schools and neighborhoods by providing opportunities for low-income kids to live in safe, well-resourced neighborhoods and attend Connecticut's highest-performing schools.

Case Study: Affordable Housing in Mt. Laurel, NJ

One of the best-studied affordable housing projects in the country is the Ethel Lawrence Homes development in Mount Laurel, New Jersey, a project that was the result of decades of high-profile litigation. Given the prominence of the project, Princeton sociologist Douglas Massey and his colleagues performed a systematic, long-term study of the development, and its effects on the surrounding town. Their findings show the tremendous benefits of the project, including for education. Many people fear that affordable housing will increase crime, increase taxes, and reduce property values, for example. But none of those fears materialized in Mount Laurel. Crime rates fell, property values rose, and property taxes declined. Instead, the Ethel Lawrence Homes helped families who lived there have higher rates of employment, higher wages, and higher rates of economic independence. The educational benefits were also significant. Children living in the Ethel Lawrence Homes were more likely to have a quiet place to study and spent an average of 6 hours more per week on homework.²⁰ Their grades are up, even though they are now in more rigorous classrooms.²¹ The community as a whole has benefitted from the construction of the Ethel Lawrence Homes, but perhaps no one has benefitted more than the children who live there.

Declining School Enrollment: An Opportunity for Housing Growth

Connecticut's population of young people is declining. Between now and 2025, the number of school-age kids in 153 of Connecticut's towns is expected to decrease.²² Over that

Connecticut Realize the Dream. <http://www.realizethedream.org/reports/states/connecticut.html>.

¹⁷ Rucker C. Johnson, "Long-Run Impacts of School Desegregation and School Quality on Adult Attainments," Working Paper 16664 (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011).

¹⁸ Jonathan Rothwell, "Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools." Brookings (April 2012) 15. In Connecticut, the cost of living near a good school is significantly higher than the cost of living near a bad school. In Bridgeport, the housing cost gap is 3.5: it is 3.5 times more expensive to live near a high-scoring school than a low-scoring school.

¹⁹ Nationwide, black and Hispanic students disproportionately attend low-scoring schools. The average black student is enrolled in a school with scores in the 37th percentile, the average Latino student in a school with scores in the 41st percentile, the average Asian student in a school with scores in the 63rd percentile, and the average white student in a school with scores in the 60th percentile. Jonathan Rothwell, "Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools." Brookings (April 2012) 8.

²⁰ Douglas S. Massey. Moving to Opportunity in Mount Laurel, New Jersey.

²¹ *Id.*

²² 2015-2025 Population Projections for Connecticut. University of Connecticut: Connecticut State Data Center.. <http://web2.uconn.edu/ctsdc/projections.html>.

P.O. BOX 209090, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520-9090
TELEPHONE 203 432-4800 • FACSIMILE 203 432-1426

COURIER ADDRESS 133 WALL STREET, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06511

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC
YALE LAW SCHOOL

time period, the total number of school-age kids in Connecticut is projected to drop by almost 10%.²³ This decrease in the school-age population means schools will have room to welcome new students without increasing local school costs. This is a demographic opportunity that we must seize. Given these demographic trends, building affordable homes in towns with high-performing schools is a particularly cost-effective way to provide kids with a good education and close the achievement gap.

Conclusion

8-30g promotes affordable housing in good school districts, which is a win-win for everyone. 8-30g helps low-income kids learn – and eventually earn! – more, and it's helping our state close the achievement gap. Please support our students and our state, and reject amendments that weaken 8-30g. Thank you, and I am happy to answer any questions.

²³ *Id.* According to the Connecticut State Data Center, between 2015 and 2025, the population of 5-19 year olds in Connecticut is projected to drop 9.9%, from 700,758 in 2015 to 631,251 in 2025. *See also* Table 1.

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC
YALE LAW SCHOOL

Table 1: Average Grade 4 Mathematics Assessment Scale Score by National School Lunch Program Eligibility (2013)

	Low-Income (NSLP Eligible)	Not Low-Income (Not NSLP Eligible)
National	230	254
Connecticut	225	255
Connecticut Effect	-5	+1

<i>Grade 8</i>	Low-Income (NSLP Eligible)	Not Low-Income (Not NSLP Eligible)
National	270	297
Connecticut	263	297
Connecticut Effect	-7	0

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2013 Mathematics Assessment. NAEP Data Explorer, <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/dataset.aspx>.

Table 2: Average Grade 4 Mathematics Assessment Scale Score by Race* (2013)

	White	Black	Hispanic
National	250	224	231
Connecticut	253	219	224
Connecticut Effect	+3	-5	-7

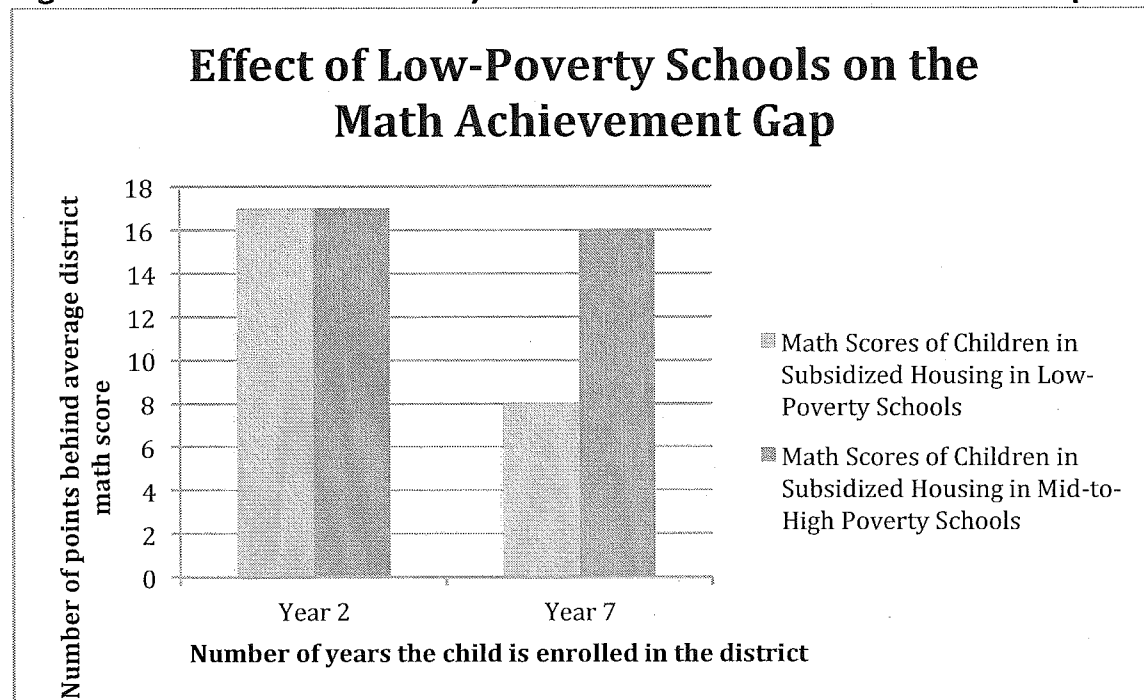
	White	Black	Hispanic
National	294	263	272
Connecticut	297	260	258
Connecticut Effect	+3	-3	-14

*School-reported race

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2013 Mathematics Assessment. NAEP Data Explorer, <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/dataset.aspx>.

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC
YALE LAW SCHOOL

Figure 1: Effect of Low-Poverty Schools on the Math Achievement Gap



Source: Schwartz, Heather. Housing Policy Is School Policy: Economically Integrative Housing Promotes Academic Success in Montgomery County, Maryland. A Century Foundation Report 17-18.

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLINIC
YALE LAW SCHOOL

Table 3: Connecticut School-Age Population Projections, 2015-2025

	2015	2020	2025
Males 5-09	104,202	98,573	99,246
Males 10-14	117,265	107,707	102,081
Males 15-19	136,379	130,725	121,176
Females 5-09	99,273	93,820	94,463
Females 10-14	112,483	102,951	97,499
Females 15-19	131,156	126,301	116,776
CT's school-age population	700,758	660,077	631,241
Projected decrease in CT's school-age population from 2015	N/A	-40,681	-69,517
% Decrease in CT's school-age population from 2015	N/A	-5.81%	-9.92%

Source: 2015-2025 Population Projections for Connecticut, Connecticut State Data Center, University of Connecticut. http://ctsdc.uconn.edu/2015_2025_projections/

HOUSING POLICY IS SCHOOL POLICY:
ECONOMICALLY INTEGRATIVE HOUSING
PROMOTES ACADEMIC SUCCESS IN
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND

HEATHER SCHWARTZ

A CENTURY FOUNDATION REPORT

THE CENTURY FOUNDATION

HEADQUARTERS: 41 East 70th Street, New York, New York 10021 ♦ 212-535-4441

D.C.: 1333 H Street, N.W., 10th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005 ♦ 202-387-0400

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author. Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Century Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

Copyright © 2010 by The Century Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of The Century Foundation.

INTRODUCTION: MONTGOMERY COUNTY AS AN EXEMPLARY CASE OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

“School enrollment patterns are closely tied to residential patterns. *In short, housing policy is school policy.*”

—David Rusk¹

Montgomery County, Maryland, operates one of the most acclaimed large public school systems in the United States. Although an increasing share of the population of this suburban school district just outside Washington, D.C., is low income, and the majority of its students belongs to racial minority groups, the county graduates nine in ten of its students. Two-thirds of its high school students take at least one Advanced Placement course, and the average SAT score in the district greatly exceeds the national average. A recent book has lauded its educational reforms intended to close racial and economic achievement gaps.² A large education publisher, Pearson, has acquired rights to sell the district’s elementary school curriculum.³ Reflecting these accomplishments, the district is a finalist for the 2010 Broad Prize, a prestigious award to honor excellence among urban school districts.

Montgomery County also ranks among the top twenty wealthiest counties in the nation, and has done so since its inception in the 1950s. Less than 5 percent of its residents live in poverty, compared to a national rate of 15 percent. Despite the increasing share of low-income students within its school system, a little less than one-third of its approximately 142,000 students qualified for free and reduced-price meals (FARM) in 2010—a ratio that is somewhat lower than the national average (42.9

percent) and far lower than that in most of the largest urban districts such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City, where about three out of every four students qualify.⁴

Montgomery County's reputation as both an affluent area with good schools and a district that serves low-income students relatively well is firmly established. Much less known is the fact that it operates the nation's oldest and by far the largest inclusionary zoning program—a policy that requires real estate developers to set aside a portion of the homes they build to be rented or sold at below-market prices. The zoning stipulation has caused the production of more than 12,000 moderately priced homes in the county since 1976. Similar inclusionary zoning policies have since spread to over one hundred high-cost housing markets in California; Massachusetts; New Jersey; New York City; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Denver and Boulder, Colorado; the greater Washington, D.C., metro area; and Burlington, Vermont, among other places.⁵

A singular feature of Montgomery County's zoning policy is that it allows the public housing authority, the Housing Opportunities Commission, to purchase one-third of the inclusionary zoning homes within each subdivision to operate as federally subsidized public housing, thereby allowing households who typically earn incomes below the poverty line to live in affluent neighborhoods and send their children to schools where the vast majority of students come from families that do not live in poverty. To date, the housing authority has purchased about 700 apartments that are located in market-rate apartment complexes that it operates as public housing. All told, it operates 992 public housing family apartments (some clustered in small public housing developments) that are located in hundreds of neighborhoods throughout the county and are zoned into almost every one of the school district's 131 elementary schools. Families who occupy the public housing apartments in Montgomery County have an average income of \$22,460 as of 2007, making them among the poorest households in the county. The apartments are leased

at a fraction of the normal market rates: whereas the average monthly rent for a two-bedroom apartment in Montgomery County in 2006 was \$1,267, public housing tenants' average rent contribution was \$371 (equal to one-third of their income, per federal regulation) in the same year.

The Housing Opportunities Commission randomly assigns applicants to the public housing apartments. Since almost all of the county's elementary schools have neighborhood-based attendance zones, children in public housing thus are assigned randomly to their elementary schools via the public housing placement process. This feature prevents families' self-selection into neighborhoods and elementary schools of their choice, which in turn allows for a fair comparison of children in public housing in low-poverty settings to other children in public housing in higher-poverty settings within the county.

Building on the strength of the random assignment of children to schools, I examine the longitudinal school performance from 2001 to 2007 of approximately 850 students in public housing who attended elementary schools and lived in neighborhoods that fell along a spectrum of very-low-poverty to moderate-poverty rates. In brief, I find that over a period of five to seven years, children in public housing who attended the school district's most-advantaged schools (as measured by either subsidized lunch status or the district's own criteria) far outperformed in math and reading those children in public housing who attended the district's least-advantaged elementary schools.

In this report, I describe the study, the findings, and their ramifications. First, I review why economic integration in neighborhoods and schools might matter in the first place. Then I provide greater context about the Montgomery County school district and the housing policies in question, and briefly describe the methods by which I compare the schooling outcomes of children in public housing. Following that, I set out the results of the study by describing the influence of school poverty (as measured by two different metrics)

and neighborhood poverty on children's math and reading outcomes. Then I clarify what can and cannot be learned from this study. Finally, after reviewing my findings, I consider how Montgomery County's experience might pertain to that of similar suburbs, as well as to the challenges facing policymakers concerned with the issues of affordable housing and education.

To anticipate the lengthier discussion below, the following list sets out the main educational and housing-related effects of Montgomery County's economically integrative housing policies.

SCHOOL-RELATED FINDINGS

- *School-based economic integration effects accrued over time.* After five to seven years, students in public housing who were randomly assigned to low-poverty elementary schools significantly outperformed their peers in public housing who attended moderate-poverty schools in both math and reading. Further, by the end of elementary school, the initial, large achievement gap between children in public housing who attended the district's most advantaged schools and their non-poor students in the district was cut by half for math and one-third for reading.
- *The academic returns from economic integration diminished as school poverty levels rose.* Children who lived in public housing and attended schools where no more than 20 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced price meal did best, whereas those children in public housing who attended schools where as many as 35 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced price meal performed no better academically over time than public housing children who attended schools where 35 to 85 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced price meal. (Note that fewer than 5 percent of schools had more than 60 percent of students from low-income families, and none had more than 85 percent in any year, making it impossible to compare the effects of

low-poverty schools with truly high-poverty schools, where 75 percent to 100 percent of the families are low-income).

- *Using subsidized meals as the metric for measuring school need might be insufficient.* The two different measures of school disadvantage used in this study—subsidized school meal status and Montgomery County’s own criteria—each indicate that children from very poor families benefited over the course of five to seven years from attending low-poverty schools. A comparison of the district’s own measure of school disadvantage to the most commonly employed measure (subsidized meals) yielded differently sized estimates of the benefits to low-income elementary school children of attending advantaged schools. The differences suggest the shortcoming of the free and reduced-price meal metric as a single indicator of school need.

HOUSING-RELATED FINDINGS

- *In Montgomery County, inclusionary zoning integrated children from highly disadvantaged families into low-poverty neighborhoods and low-poverty schools over the long term.* The county’s inclusionary zoning program generally, and its scattered site public housing program in particular, have been a highly successful means of exposing low-income persons to low-poverty settings. As of the years in which this study took place, families with school-age children living in public housing had stayed in place for an average of eight years, which resulted in long term exposure of their children to low-poverty settings.
- *Residential stability improved students’ academic outcomes.* Even though the families living in public housing in Montgomery County earned very low incomes, they stayed in place for longer periods of time than is typical of public families nationally with similar incomes.

Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools

Jonathan Rothwell

“Limiting the development of inexpensive housing in affluent neighborhoods and jurisdictions fuels economic and racial segregation and contributes to significant differences in school performance across the metropolitan landscape.”

Findings

An analysis of national and metropolitan data on public school populations and state standardized test scores for 84,077 schools in 2010 and 2011 reveals that:

- **Nationwide, the average low-income student attends a school that scores at the 42nd percentile on state exams, while the average middle/high-income student attends a school that scores at the 61st percentile on state exams.** This school test-score gap is even wider between black and Latino students and white students. There is increasingly strong evidence—from this report and other studies—that low-income students benefit from attending higher-scoring schools.
- **Northeastern metro areas with relatively high levels of economic segregation exhibit the highest school test-score gaps between low-income students and other students.** Controlling for regional factors such as size, income inequality, and racial/ethnic diversity associated with school test-score gaps, Southern metro areas such as Washington and Raleigh, and Western metros like Portland and Seattle, stand out for having smaller-than-expected test-score gaps between schools attended by low-income and middle/high-income students.
- **Across the 100 largest metropolitan areas, housing costs an average of 2.4 times as much, or nearly \$11,000 more per year, near a high-scoring public school than near a low-scoring public school.** This housing cost gap reflects that home values are \$205,000 higher on average in the neighborhoods of high-scoring versus low-scoring schools. Near high-scoring schools, typical homes have 1.5 additional rooms and the share of housing units that are rented is roughly 30 percentage points lower than in neighborhoods near low-scoring schools.
- **Large metro areas with the least restrictive zoning have housing cost gaps that are 40 to 63 percentage points lower than metro areas with the most exclusionary zoning.** Eliminating exclusionary zoning in a metro area would, by reducing its housing cost gap, lower its school test-score gap by an estimated 4 to 7 percentiles—a significant share of the observed gap between schools serving the average low-income versus middle/higher-income student.

As the nation grapples with the growing gap between rich and poor and an economy increasingly reliant on formal education, public policies should address housing market regulations that prohibit all but the very affluent from enrolling their children in high-scoring public schools in order to promote individual social mobility and broader economic security.

Housing Costs, Zoning and Access to High-Scoring Schools

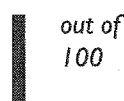
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT metro area

Why school access matters

This report finds that anti-density zoning laws – local regulations that discourage inexpensive housing – lead to inflated housing costs near high-scoring schools, relative to housing costs near low-scoring schools. This housing costs gap drives economic segregation across schools and a higher test score gap between the schools attended by low-income and middle/high income students. Research shows that low-income students are more likely to succeed in higher-scoring schools, so reducing the financial and regulatory barriers to residential and school integration should be a priority.

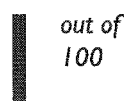
Bridgeport's school access rankings

ZONING RESTRICTIONS



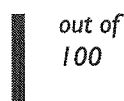
The metro area has the 1st most restrictive zoning, based on the prevalence of land-use law firms in the state. Restrictive zoning discourages inexpensive housing, driving economic segregation.

ECONOMIC SEGREGATION



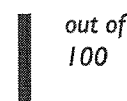
61% of low-income students would have to change ZIP codes to achieve an equal distribution across schools, ranking the metro area the 1st most economically segregated.

HOUSING COST GAP



Housing costs near high-scoring elementary schools are 3.5 times higher than housing costs near low-scoring schools, ranking the metro area the 1st highest on this measure.

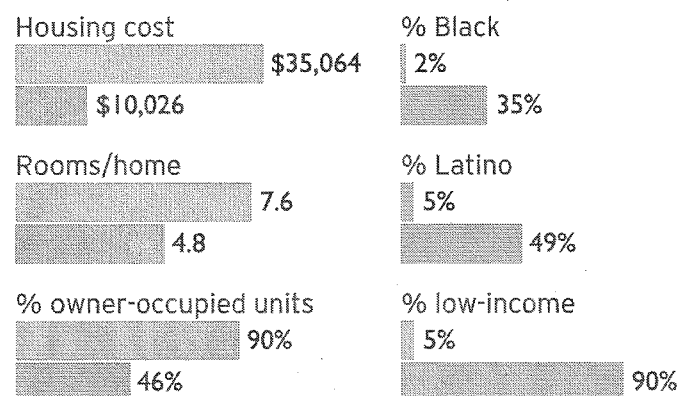
TEST SCORE GAP



The average middle/high-income student attends a school that ranks 37 percentage points higher on state exams than the school an average low-income student attends, ranking the metro area the 1st highest on this measure.

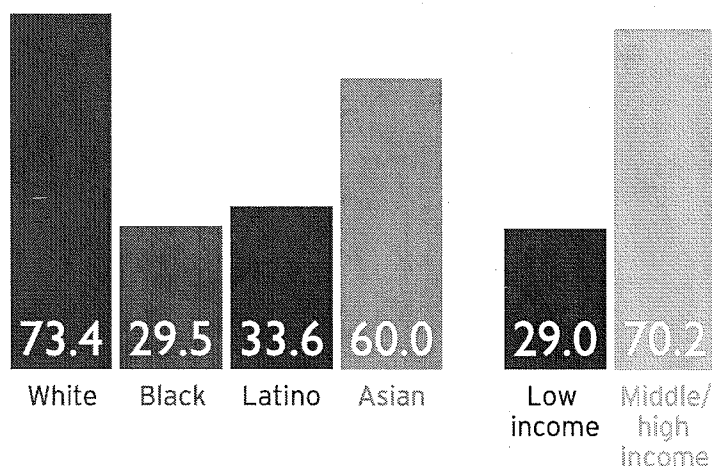
Bridgeport school comparisons

These charts compare the average top quintile school (blue) and the average bottom-quintile school (red) in Bridgeport across six categories. Quintiles are based on scores of standardized tests taken between 2010 and 2011.



Bridgeport test scores by group

School percentile rankings in Bridgeport for the average student, broken down by race and income. School test scores are adjusted by state average and ranked nationally.



Data notes

Notes: Housing data for schools are based on Census data from hypothetical attendance zones near schools. Housing costs are based on a weighted average of rental and ownership costs.

Source: From Brookings publication, "Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools." Data are derived from Brookings analysis of data from GreatSchools, the National Center for Education Statistics, various state education agencies, the 2005-2009 American Community Survey, and lawyers.com. See report for details.

Housing Costs, Zoning and Access to High-Scoring Schools

New Haven-Milford, CT metro area

Why school access matters

This report finds that anti-density zoning laws – local regulations that discourage inexpensive housing – lead to inflated housing costs near high-scoring schools, relative to housing costs near low-scoring schools. This housing costs gap drives economic segregation across schools and a higher test score gap between the schools attended by low-income and middle/high income students. Research shows that low-income students are more likely to succeed in higher-scoring schools, so reducing the financial and regulatory barriers to residential and school integration should be a priority.

New Haven's school access rankings

ZONING RESTRICTIONS

1 out of 100

The metro area has the 1st most restrictive zoning, based on the prevalence of land-use law firms in the state. Restrictive zoning discourages inexpensive housing, driving economic segregation.

ECONOMIC SEGREGATION

7 out of 100

53% of low-income students would have to change ZIP codes to achieve an equal distribution across schools, ranking the metro area the 7th most economically segregated.

HOUSING COST GAP

15 out of 100

Housing costs near high-scoring elementary schools are 2.6 times higher than housing costs near low-scoring schools, ranking the metro area the 15th highest on this measure.

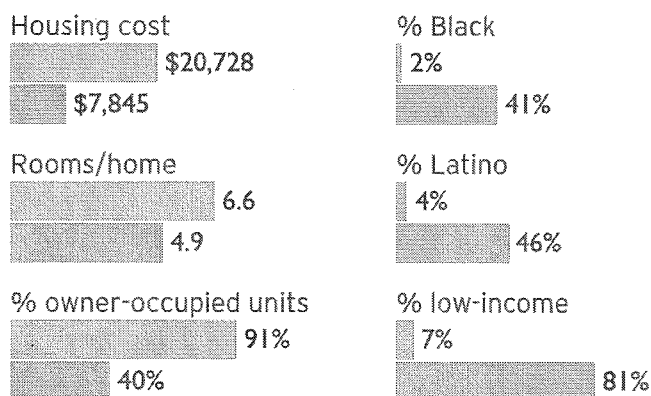
TEST SCORE GAP

4 out of 100

The average middle/high-income student attends a school that ranks 33 percentage points higher on state exams than the school an average low-income student attends, ranking the metro area the 4th highest on this measure.

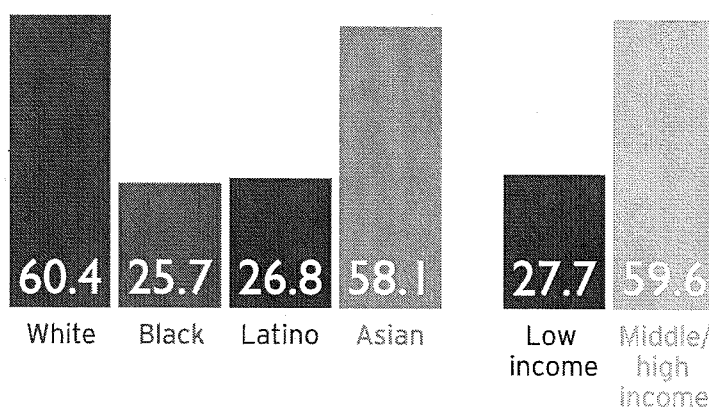
New Haven school comparisons

These charts compare the average top quintile school (blue) and the average bottom-quintile school (red) in New Haven across six categories. Quintiles are based on scores of standardized tests taken between 2010 and 2011.



New Haven test scores by group

School percentile rankings in New Haven for the average student, broken down by race and income. School test scores are adjusted by state average and ranked nationally.



Data notes

Notes: Housing data for schools are based on Census data from hypothetical attendance zones near schools. Housing costs are based on a weighted average of rental and ownership costs.

Source: From Brookings publication, "Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools." Data are derived from Brookings analysis of data from GreatSchools, the National Center for Education Statistics, various state education agencies, the 2005-2009 American Community Survey, and lawyers.com. See report for details.

Housing Costs, Zoning and Access to High-Scoring Schools

Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT metro area

Why school access matters

This report finds that anti-density zoning laws – local regulations that discourage inexpensive housing – lead to inflated housing costs near high-scoring schools, relative to housing costs near low-scoring schools. This housing costs gap drives economic segregation across schools and a higher test score gap between the schools attended by low-income and middle/high income students. Research shows that low-income students are more likely to succeed in higher-scoring schools, so reducing the financial and regulatory barriers to residential and school integration should be a priority.

Hartford's school access rankings

ZONING RESTRICTIONS

1 out of 100

The metro area has the 1st most restrictive zoning, based on the prevalence of land-use law firms in the state. Restrictive zoning discourages inexpensive housing, driving economic segregation.

ECONOMIC SEGREGATION

4 out of 100

54% of low-income students would have to change ZIP codes to achieve an equal distribution across schools, ranking the metro area the 4th most economically segregated.

HOUSING COST GAP

10 out of 100

Housing costs near high-scoring elementary schools are 2.8 times higher than housing costs near low-scoring schools, ranking the metro area the 10th highest on this measure.

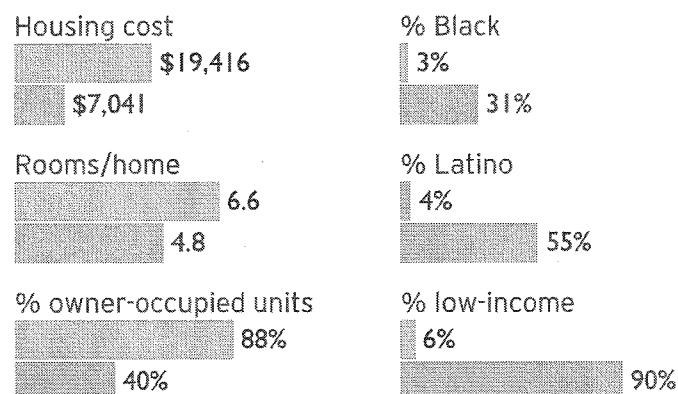
TEST SCORE GAP

2 out of 100

The average middle/high-income student attends a school that ranks 35 percentage points higher on state exams than the school an average low-income student attends, ranking the metro area the 2nd highest on this measure.

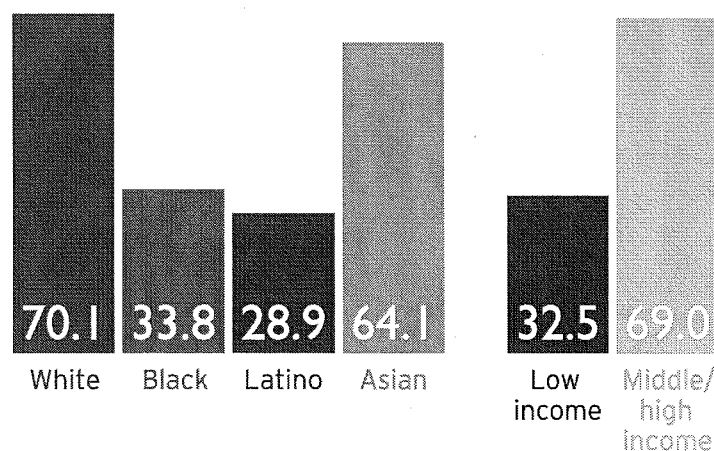
Hartford school comparisons

These charts compare the average top quintile school (blue) and the average bottom-quintile school (red) in Hartford across six categories. Quintiles are based on scores of standardized tests taken between 2010 and 2011.



Hartford test scores by group

School percentile rankings in Hartford for the average student, broken down by race and income. School test scores are adjusted by state average and ranked nationally.



Data notes

Notes: Housing data for schools are based on Census data from hypothetical attendance zones near schools. Housing costs are based on a weighted average of rental and ownership costs.

Source: From Brookings publication, "Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools." Data are derived from Brookings analysis of data from GreatSchools, the National Center for Education Statistics, various state education agencies, the 2005-2009 American Community Survey, and lawyers.com. See report for details.